or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. 313 417 There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer. [656]

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. 241 231 Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. 731 Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, 443 the foci of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowanduz, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. [655] A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowanduz, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowanduz exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Dyana, and others a natural response to the requirements

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

intensity of village loyalty is produced that is rarely found in other tenant villages. 621 788

Ritual homage. Whereas many villages lack the central focus of a mosque, religious activities still have considerable integrative functions, especially the standardized prayers, or, more properly, the ritual homage paid to Allah five times daily, facing Mecca, as the Prophet Mohammed commanded. This homage being of a standardized type and involving a stereotyped series of postures, supposedly performed simultaneously by all the villagers, it symbolizes a solidarity and *gemeinschaft* that must be re-inforced, shall the community persist. The personal prayer occasionally appended is unimportant; the emphasis is on the *common* ritual.

The time for prayer is specified in relation to sunrise and sundown, e. g. one two hours preceeding, another one and a half hours after sundown. Since no clocks or watches are commonly available in the village, «calling to prayer» gives opportunity for controlling behavior in the religious field, and thus for the emergence of a type of leadership. Where a mullah is present, he naturally performs the function; where there is no mullah, the local derwish or head of the local derwishes tries to assume this responsibility. His melodious chant certainly thrills a Western ear in the quiet evening; but the call is not necessarily responded to very quickly; furthermore, *Hadjis* and other important persons will tend to take an autonomous view of the proper time for prayers. Thus, unless a mullah of some importance is present, the degree of *leadership* implied in calling to prayer is rather slight. However, this fact would not seem to detract significantly from the integrative symbolism of the simultaneous ritual homage to God.

Communal magic. The only cases of communal magic which I became aware of are concerned with the most critical and unpredictable question in Kurdish subsistence: rain. The other examples of magic are of different types: The ordinary derwish antics, performed in public, are not instrumental in the sense that they are directed towards achieving some practical and generally coveted end; the magic connected with amulets for protection etc. are of a personal and private kind. The art of rainmaking, on the other hand, is still 789 731 •

practiced as a communal rite in cases of need, and gives the competent derwish an opportunity to reinforce his special position and demonstrate his control of power.

The actual rite is in rough outline quite simple. After an all-night session of prayer and purification on the part of the derwish, he is taken to a pool in the near-by, dwindling stream, and submerged in the water.

It is difficult to say just what degree of emotional intensity is involved in the rite as far as a majority of the participants is concerned. In the special case in question, they did not seem particularly impressed — the derwish involved was one who was frequently the object of mild horseplay, and the actual act of ducking him might have some appeal to the less serious minded. However this may be, the gravity of drought should not be underestimated, and would hardly be condusive to horseplay. The winter rains seemed to have stopped much too early, and the rite was a response to this serious situation. Considering this, the preformance was probably more emotionally charged than some of the superficial comments might suggest, and certainly served to emphasize the unity and solidarity of the group. — It might incidentally be noted that this specific rite also was successful, in that fairly heavy rains followed shortly.

Thus, this ritual of rainmaking is concerned with a very critical communal problem, and enables the derwish to assume a momentary position of dominant importance in his community. An interesting deviation from the stated norm was also observed in this case: the young son of the village *Agha* was submerged alongside with the derwish[1]). This equivalence may be significant in several respects. From the point of view of the derwish, it indicates the considerable extent of his momentary prestige — from a normal status of laborer he is elevated to temporary equivalence with the heir apparent of the village *Agha*. It may also illustrate something in the Kurdish conception of power: there is no really clear distinction made between the

[1]) The fact that the son rather than the *Agha* himself was chosen is best understood in terms of the slightly ambivalent situation, and the rather undignified appearance of the actor following immersion.

14: Ivanov E-5 (no date) 1926 MA1 Iran MA1
Kurd MA11
Baluchi At2

K
731
164
142
147
619
628
186
197
191
B
221
177
162
197
I
162
563
B
142
157
K
142
302

This division[1] probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916–1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of flocks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, *i.e.* in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Juwain, Nishapur, Turshiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, *i.e.* the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-lore is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unsightly, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their seasonal

[1] [between nomadic and sedentary way of life.—Analyst]

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the adults dye their hair with henna and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.